THE WORLD TOMORROW

Who are these COMMUNISTS?

McALISTER COLEMAN

Why Religion Is Anxious

GEORGE A. COE

Gandhi's Defiance

H. N. BRAILSFORD

OCTOBER 5th

---

10 cents a copy, $3.00 a year

The Case against **Roosevelt**

an Editorial

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XV — OCTOBER 5, 1932 — No. 12

Copyright, 1932, The World Tomorrow, Inc.

EDITORS
KIRBY PAGE
DEVERE ALLEN
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
PAUL H. DOUGLAS

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
H. N. BRAILSFORD
GEORGE A. COE
HALFORD E. LUCCOCK
H. C. ENGELBRECHT

EXECUTIVE EDITOR
A. ALBERT MACLEOD

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
JOHN BENNETT
SHERWOOD EDDY
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
SAMUEL GUY INMAN
EDWARD L. ISRAEL
PAUL JONES
AGNES C. MACPHAIL
PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
RHODA E. McCULLOCH
HELEN GRACE MURRAY
A. J. MUSTE
H. RICHARD NIEBUHR
WILLIAM PICKENS
NORMAN THOMAS

PRESIDENT
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

SECRETARY
DOROTHY DETZER

TREASURER
KENNETH E. WALSER

MARVIN R. BENDINER
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

SOPHIE TREFON
EDITORIAL SECRETARY

WILLARD R. ESPY
CIRCULATION MANAGER

ETHELRED BROWN
OFFICE SECRETARY

MACFARLAND & HEATON, ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES

CONTENTS

Editorials 3
As Brailsford Sees It. By H. N. Brailsford 3
Who Are the Communists? By McAlister Coleman 3
Why Religion Is Anxious. By George A. Coe 3
Not in the Headlines 3
The Traffic in Death. By H. C. Engelbrecht 3
Trumpets Before Jericho (*verse*). By Elias Lieberman 3
The Book End 3
Correspondence 3
Announcements 3
The Last Word. By Eccentricus 3

Published on Wednesday of each week at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 10 cents; $3 per year; Canada, $3.50 foreign, $3.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 14s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, September 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 187

Additional Copies Of

THE SURVEY OF THE PARTIES

prepared by Devere Allen and included as a supplement with the last issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, may be obtained for use in schools, clubs, libraries and discussion groups at special quantity rates as follows:

1000 for $35.00	20 for $1.00
100 for 4.00	Single copy, 10¢

This chart contains an analysis of each of the party platforms, biographical sketches of the candidates, brief party histories and the stand taken by each on every important question of the day. Address your order to

THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue — New York, N. Y.

Appearing Soon

Who Are The Socialists?
McAlister Coleman

Ukraine Wheat and White Coal
J. B. Matthews

A Barthian View of Religion
E. G. Homrighausen

The Case Against Foster
an editorial

THE
WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XV October 5, 1932 No. 11

Stupendous Achievement

Having won the most astounding victory of his eventful career, Mahatma Gandhi has ended his fast. The ultimate significance of his accomplishment is so momentous that a realistic interpretation is likely to appear distorted if not fantastic.

High caste Hindus have solemnly pledged themselves to stamp out untouchability in all its forms. The proposed plan of separate electorates for "untouchables" has been abandoned, and instead the outcasts are to be provided with 148 reserved seats in the provincial legislatures, a far more generous allotment than was contemplated in the original plan. In the central legislature 18 per cent of the seats for British India are to be reserved for the depressed classes, although the British government has not as yet accepted or rejected this part of the agreement. The arrangement further provides that "untouchables" shall receive a fair share of representation on local bodies and in the civil service, and that adequate educational facilities shall be made available for all classes. High caste leaders have pledged themselves to throw open Hindu temples to the "untouchables." Pandit Malaviya, one of the most influential of the patrician Hindus, "made an impassioned speech announcing a plan to raise $912,000 for a vigorous campaign against untouchability throughout the length and breadth of India, especially in the villages where the 'untouchables' are subjected to untold miseries."

It is almost impossible for Americans to understand the ultra-radicalism of this agreement. A faint analogy would be presented if outstanding white leaders of the South should agree to stamp out segregation of Negroes in all its forms. If the United States Senators from Louisiana and South Carolina should make an impassioned plea that Jim Crow cars on railways be abolished, if bishops and clergymen from Florida and Mississippi should plead for the abandonment of segregated schools for Negroes, if state commanders of the American Legion in Virginia and North Carolina should tour their respective communities advocating the removal of all restrictions that prevent Negroes from owning homes in neighborhoods reserved exclusively for Nordics—if leading white citizens of the South should agree to campaign vigorously for the immediate removal of all disabilities imposed upon Negroes as a race, such action would not be more sensational than for high caste Hindus to commit themselves to the stamping out of untouchability in its various forms. The abysmal chasm which for 2,000 years has separated castes from outcasts is indicated by the fact that the latter have been barred even from the sacred temples of worship.

It would, of course, be stupid to assume that the victory will soon be consummated and that the last trace of untouchability will rapidly disappear. Even if outstanding Southern leaders took a resolute stand against segregation, decades of heroic endeavor would be required before Negroes everywhere received equal rights and privileges. Already a delegation of orthodox Hindus has visited the Viceroy and protested against the agreement and denounced Pandit Malaviya because he "has bartered his priceless religion for some political chicanery." Nevertheless, within the 149 hours of the Mahatma's fast incalculably more progress toward the abolition of untouchability was made than in the entire period since the emergence of the caste system. Mr. Charles F. Andrews well says that the agreement "shakes untouchability to its foundations, and is bound to improve the relations between India and Great Britain."

In the midst of our rejoicing over this unprecedented victory, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that the removal of untouchability constitutes only one of the numerous steps required before the masses of India can come into possession of political, economic and social freedom. While separate electorates for "untouchables" have been abandoned, this device is still retained in the British proposal. Its ultimate incorporation into a new Government of India Act will greatly aggravate hostility among Hindus and Moslems and Sikhs. Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress, so far as we know, are still opposed to communal voting; whereas, spokesmen for the Moslems appear equally determined not to abandon their demand for separate electorates.

Even if the evil of separate voting should be abolished, the problem of the franchise still remains. Under the British plan the dice are loaded in favor of the conservative and reactionary land owners and industrialists. Moreover, the proposed basis of the Federal Government if adopted will make it possible for the native princes to impede if not actually to block progressive measures for the emancipation of the masses. All realistic observers of the Indian scene agree that the achievement of political autonomy from Great Britain will be child's play in contrast to the enormous difficulties confronting the peasants and workers of In-

dia in their struggle for economic emancipation from their own exploiters.

The solution of these numerous and baffling problems has, however, been brought nearer to realization by the vicarious suffering of a frail little saint. The influence of the Mahatma has been enormously enhanced, and without exaggeration it may now be said that he holds a veto over any proposal for the new government of India. Against his opposition no government could be made effective. Moreover, his victory over untouchability will greatly encourage the masses everywhere to resist exploitation in all its forms. Mr. Gandhi is teaching the victims of injustice that in nonviolent non-coöperation they possess a weapon with almost illimitable power. No person in India since the days of the Buddha has ranked with the Spinner of Sabarmati in redemptive power.

German and Japanese Militarists

The insistence of the militaristic government of Germany that they must have complete arms equality may prove to be the undoing of the Japanese militarists. France, it will be remembered, has been sympathetic with Japan since the invasion of Manchuria. The Japanese militarists would hardly have dared to engage in their adventure if they had not known that France and, to a certain extent, England would not embarrass them through the League of Nations more than the amenities of League membership absolutely required. Yet suddenly France announces to the world that she will not recognize the new government in Manchuria and that she is very anxious to preserve the prestige of the League of Nations. The papers report that the Japanese are nervous about this change of front and scent a deal with America. The Japanese are political realists and their suspicions are probably correct.

The fact is that the German demands drove Premier Herriot into a tight corner and he felt that he needed American support badly. Senator David Reed who was either sent by the Administration or was conveniently at hand when the crisis came, had long conferences with French statesmen at the conclusion of which the French suddenly became ardent supporters of League prestige and the American doctrine that treaties made in consequence of previous violations of treaty obligations must not be recognized. Just what kind of bargain Senator Reed struck with Herriot is not yet apparent. The new commercial treaty between France and America may have entered into the negotiations and war debts may also have figured in the deal. But the principal *quid pro quo* was American support of France against Germany in return for French support of America against Japan.

International diplomacy is a very interesting game. If the German militarists should prove to have been instrumental in offering permanent embarrassment the Japanese militarists, the optimist may find a li grist for his mill in what will be a very cold winter optimists. Perhaps the devil's house is divided aga itself and the devil may therefore not be as poten he seems at the moment.

Roosevelt's Speeches

Thus far Governor Roosevelt has delivered th major addresses on his Western trip. One of them, the railroads, was a well-reasoned conservative do ment with a few minor helpful contributions to railroad problem but with a general tendency to pl the government behind the financial structure of railroads as it now exists. It brought comfort to holders of railroad securities.

The address on farming was plain nonsense. In the amiable Governor promised the farmers eve thing and did not bother to exclude the promise various blessings which are inconsistent with ea other. There is to be a tariff to protect the farm without increasing the price of goods which he has buy. That is exactly what Hoover promised t farmer. Mr. Roosevelt's tariff is to be different cause it is going to be scientific. That word will har carry the weight of the burden which Mr. Roosev intends it to carry. He wants it to harmonize t original Democratic creed of a tariff for revenue or with the recent Democratic apostasy to a protecti tariff. An equalization fee is also hinted at but it mu not raise the charge of dumping in foreign lands n must it increase production. How all these marvelo blessings are to be achieved in one policy depone sayeth not.

His third speech, that on power, was the most ra ical one. In comparison with Hoover's water pow policies, Roosevelt's speech was radical, or at lea liberal. His insistence that the four great wat power developments, the St. Lawrence River, Musc Shoals, Boulder Dam and the Columbia River, mu remain in the hands of the state would at least preve the alienation of invaluable natural resources by pr vate capitalism. That would be a real gain ov Hoover's antagonism toward the public developme of these power sources.

Roosevelt, however, makes his peace with the phi osophy of rugged individualism by providing for th transmission of power through private enterprise. H would use public ownership of transmission "only as birch rod" with which to chastise private enterprise it became exorbitant in its demands. He would set u more adequate methods of regulation. "The regula ing commission must be a tribune of the people. Roosevelt admits that this has not been the case in th past. The theory of regulation "is honored toda more in the breach than in the observance," he de clares. It has been "bedeviled by many utility com

panies and, I am sorry to say, by many of our courts s well." What guarantee is there that better mechanisms of regulation will not fall into the hands of the tility interests in the future?

What Roosevelt fails to admit, though everything n the evidence which he himself presents must force im to the conclusion, is that a state can not regulate economic power if economic power is strong enough to corrupt the instruments of the state. Pleas for a "new deal" and for greater honesty in government do not avail against this irrefutable fact. Regulation will not work because the economic resources of public utilities are too vast to be brought under control. That is the reason why nothing but public ownership can finally purge politics of public utilities corruption. Mr. Roosevelt's power policies are a perfect expression of liberalism, with its resistance to dishonesty and injustice within a system of private capitalism. That resistance must finally depend upon an appeal to honesty. Questions of honesty are practically beside the point in the ultimate issues of politics. The question is: Who has the power?

Catalonians Rejoice

Well may the citizens of the Generalidad of Catalonia surge up and down their picturesque street, the Ramblas, past the gay flower stalls and the innumerable news stands, and shake the leaves of the plane trees with their Catalan songs and their cheers of victory. After centuries of struggle for freedom and autonomy, a conflict which has attained at times to a pitch of desperate violence scarcely exceeded by any subject people in the world, they have emerged with a far greater share in self-government than is permitted many a population living under "democracy" and pseudo-self-determination. Colonel Macia, the head of the Catalonian government, may congratulate himself upon the accomplishment toward which he has pressed so vigorously and yet with a measure of restraint for which he has all too rarely been given credit by the American press. But equally the cabinet of Premier Azaña and the *cortes,* or parliament, merit the praise of the Spanish people. So long had the monarchy perpetuated friction between the bustling Catalonians and the prideful Castilians that vociferous objection had to be faced by those responsible for this new step. Nevertheless, for the first time in many a generation, Catalonia has become spiritually a part of the entire Spanish peninsula. Immediately after the revolution in April, 1930, there were plenty of prophets who were ready to predict the dissolution of the new republic over this vexatious issue. But despite many tendencies toward excess on the part of misguided zealots, from then until now the narrow stripes of red and yellow which constitute the colors of Catalonia have been officially accompanied by the red, yellow, and purple of the republican flag. Thus symbolically and in fact have the leaders of this northeastern province and the central government at Madrid demonstrated their ability to rise above the extravagances which so often menaced the revolutionary regime, and have confounded the critics by accomplishing what has long been deemed impossible. Many contentious problems still lie ahead, particularly in the field of drastic economic change. But a country which has manifested so much statesmanship thus far can be watched at least with reasonable hope that greater victories are still to come.

Don't Throw Away Your Vote

Unless all signs fail, Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party will poll this fall an extremely heavy vote, which may run into the millions. In virtually every poll that has thus far been taken Thomas has received an extraordinarily large proportion of the ballots cast and in some localities has either surpassed Hoover's vote or nearly equaled it. There is, in fact, but one influence which may prevent a vote which will astound the old party politicians; namely, the timidity of those voters who still feel that there is a marked difference between Hoover and Roosevelt and who are afraid to vote for their first choice, Thomas, lest by taking votes away from their second choice they will be aiding the cause of the candidate they like least. Such voters refrain from voting for Thomas because they think their ballots would be "thrown away." They therefore turn to Roosevelt because they believe that he will defend the public against the power interests, or to Hoover because they surmise that he is more sympathetic to prohibition.

Because of these fears multitudes of Americans who between elections want a third party shrink back at the crucial moment from voting for their real convictions and become timid servers of a poor second choice. In so doing they perpetuate the hold of the sterile old parties and prevent a real party of the people from taking root in the soil of American life. What they have failed to realize is that the new party whose necessity they admit cannot spring into being by spontaneous combustion. It must grow up out of earlier defeats and out of local movements. But it can only grow, and in some cases only survive, if an increasing number of those who wish for it in their hearts give it through the years their support when it is comparatively weak. Once it acquires appreciable strength, it will draw to itself by a process of cumulative attraction those Americans who love to ride the band-wagon of success. But it needs, especially in the early stages, like any promising child, the devotion and care of its well-wishers. American liberals have in the past almost continually betrayed their future for the sake of illusory gains in the immediate present.

If Thomas and the Socialists, together with the

various state and local parties which have arisen, such as the Minnesota and Chicago Farmer Labor Parties, can poll a large vote this fall, a tremendous impetus will be given to the third party movement. If they do not do so, then it will be extremely difficult to build such parties in the near future, and the control of the country will remain in the hands of the sodden reactionaries and corruptionists who now dominate both the Republican and the Democratic parties.

Those, moreover, who under the influence of pre-election ballyhoo now think that there is a great difference between Hoover and Roosevelt should remind themselves that four years ago they thought a chasm existed between the choice of Hoover and of Smith, in 1924 between Coolidge and Davis, and in 1920 between Harding and Cox. And yet if anything is evident, it is that the history of the country would have been little, if at all, different had the results of each of those elections been other than they were. Similarly today, it will make in practice but an infinitesimal difference whether Hoover or Roosevelt is chosen next November. Both parties are essentially controlled by the same groups, and the policies carried into practice by both men will in consequence be substantially alike. The only real way for the people to obtain concessions from the old parties is to pile up such a large vote for Thomas and his fellows that the old leaders will be forced to face, at least partially, the problems which now torment the American people. Since these concessions will be made by one party about as readily as by the other, no good is done by liberals voting for either. To do so is truly to throw away one's vote and not only to sacrifice the future for the present but to be goldbricked on that as well.

The Farmers' Debts

Senator Borah's statement on the farm problem, in which he suggests that insurance companies and other holders of farm mortgages must write off a considerable portion of these mortgages before the farmer can escape his present poverty, is a bit of realism in a campaign in which the farmer is getting little help or consolation. The farmers are in debt to the extent of nine billion dollars. They must pay interest on this debt to the tune of $671,000,000 annually and they must do it with dollars which have twice the value of the dollars with which the debts were contracted. The prices of agricultural products have dropped 45 per cent since these mortgages were contracted. The farmer is therefore in virtual slavery to all the people who have invested their savings in farm paper. Interest charges actually eat up 66 per cent of the gross value of the crops which are to be reaped this fall.

These few simple figures clearly reveal the futility of all the various panaceas which politicians offer the farmer in campaign time. Equalization fees, tarif land banks, coöperatives—none of these expedient will avail as long as some scheme is not devise which will scale down the farmers' debts and brin them into accord with prevailing price levels. Even scheme of inflation will not do the trick because th farmer's prices were below the general level eve before the depression began. Senator Borah's sugges tion is an excellent one, but neither one of the ol parties could possibly carry it out. The money lender and money savers are too powerful in their counsels This farm problem is one among many in which po litical policies are determined purely by economic in terest and which reveal the necessity of forming po litical parties in conformity to those interests.

Two Suicides Per Hour

Every 26 minutes, night and day, during 1931 an individual in the United States ended his own life The total number of suicides for the year was abou 20,000, as compared with 12,000 victims of murder and 35,000 fatal casualties from automobile accidents In commenting upon these figures, which he compiled Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman says:

> A review of our homicide and suicide records leads to no other conclusion than that the cheapest commodity in the United States at the present time is human life. While on the one hand this country makes the most strenuous efforts to prevent death from preventable or postponable diseases and boasts of a low death rate as one of its most humanitarian achievements, we waste human lives by murder and self-murder on a prodigious scale, increased to stupefying proportions by automobiles, gas, firearms and other convenient means of self-destruction. Even the life insurance companies are becoming alarmed at the losses sustained through voluntary self-destruction, which now cut quite a figure in their annual claim payments. Yet literally nothing is being done to aid the cause of suicide prevention, and only a feeble effort is made to reduce the toll of deaths by murder. There is the most urgent need for the organization of a national society for the study and prevention of suicide based on the sound principles of voluntary service to render aid and advice to those in desperate need.

How pitifully inadequate is the proposed solution! A national society! The malady is too deep-rooted and far advanced to be cured by committee meetings. Men kill themselves because they have failed to discover an ennobling philosophy of life and because they lack inner resources to sustain them in hours of tragic adversity.

Two aspects of our industrial civilization are responsible for a high percentage of the suicide toll: the prevailing love of money, and the terrific strain placed upon human beings by the insecurity of the capitalistic system. Numberless people are so absorbed in the frantic pursuit of things—comforts, luxuries, privileges—that their sense of values has become so perverted that financial frustration and

saster deprive them of the will to live. The present rain upon business men and financiers is appalling. 1931 there were 26,381 commercial failures in the nited States, and 1,556 bank failures, with combined abilities of nearly four billion dollars. For every nkruptcy there are a score or a hundred other conrns which hover near the precipice, with indescribble anguish for multitudes of persons concerned. ven more terrifying is the impotence of the ten illions of unemployed. The demoralization which llows the inability of a man to keep his family above e pauper level is ghastly.

The tragedy of the present hour demands socialism nd religion: a more equitable distribution of income, ealth and privilege; less competition and more coperation; increased security through social planning nd social insurance; the substitution of the service centive for the profit motive; a philosophy of life hich replaces the mad scramble for privilege and ower by the pursuit of truth, beauty and goodness; nd a spiritual experience of communion with God and ellowship with man.

imping Toward Disarmament

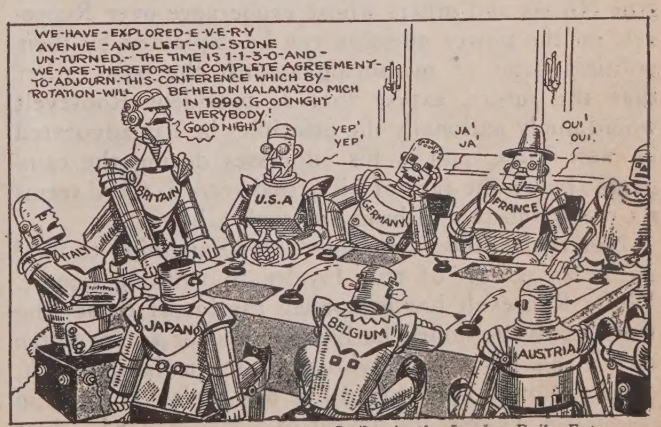
Our conferences upon limitation of armaments and pon disarmament do not altogether fail, for some mitation results now and then, and above all else the ttention of the world is increasingly focused upon the elation of readiness for war to war itself. Yet how eeble are these conferences at their best! At the rst session intense hope arising from the agonized roping of the peoples of the world for a chance to ve; after the last sitting, the question, "Was it a zzle?" The present endeavors of peace-lovers to ompose a list of the "accomplishments" at Geneva re pathetic. Accomplishments there are indeed, but ltogether minor ones. The outstanding fact, after nonths of labor by able minds, is that they have met bstacles that they have not been able to surmount r even to measure.

What is the explanation of this feebleness? The eed of action is clear, and it is tragically imperative, s the delegates themselves acknowlege; the end o be reached is almost equally clear. The personnel f these conferences is not lacking in mental acumen, or are the peoples unready to welcome drastic polies. But something sinister regularly intervenes beween the sessions of the delegates and the wishes of suffering and possibly dying world. What is this inister thing, and how do the conferees relate themelves to it?

The answer is, first of all, that nearly every delegate ndeavors to treat symptoms without recognizing auses. The wish to disarm is sincere enough, but it s the wish of a dyspeptic that *this time* he will not feel istress after filling his stomach with lobster. The underlying question for the gifted men and women at the conference board is: What causes armaments, and how can this cause be removed or lessened?

To ask what causes armaments is equivalent to inquiring: Who profits by them, or thinks that he may profit? The delegates, as soon as they have had a round of felicitous talk about the great need and the great things that they hope to accomplish, encounter a lot of national wills that are not set in the same direction, nor in any single direction. Nearly every nation that is represented at the board is represented in detail by hems and haws, by "ifs" and "buts," by national policy playing against some other national policy. It then turns out that nearly every delegate has himself a double mind; he wants peace and disarmament, but feels himself bound by the traditions of nationalism. The good that he wills, therefore, he does not, and the evil that he would not do, that he practices as before. At Geneva the delegate who came nearest to escaping this double-mindedness was a representative of Russia. He was realistic where the others were visionary. He was realistic because he saw clearly the economic interests or supposed interests that cause armaments, the armament of his own country included. We have armaments because the making and the expansion of profits demand them. Neither the profits nor the armaments are in the real interest of the masses who first work and then fight when and because they are commanded to. Yet most of the delegates still fancied that preparation for war can be controlled as a thing *per se* without reference to economic controls of government.

How long will this Sisyphus-like "disarmament" go on? How many times more must millions of us put our names to vain petitions? When will delegates to disarmament conferences understand that they must sweep the cobwebs out of their own minds before effective thinking is possible? How much nearer to the brink of destruction shall civilization be pushed by desire for profits parading under the flags of "national interest"?



Stribe, in the London Daily Express.

A Disarmament Conference, 19—?

The Case Against Roosevelt

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT as a man and an executive possesses charm, ability, culture, poise, and the power to please. His personal crusade to conquer infantile paralysis deserves, for its physical courage, all the public commendation it has brought him. As a candidate for president, however, these are neither his most important nor his characteristic attributes. Most conspicuous of all his talents is evasion, unless it be his inordinate ambition to win through at almost any cost in compromise. While he was utilizing every device to obtain the nomination, he maintained a monastic reticence on national questions, nobody knowing where he stood. And that is not all; nobody knows where he stands today on many of the most burning issues the next president will face.

Electric power constitutes a major issue, and we hasten to say that it is in this field that Governor Roosevelt has won his most justifiable repute for liberal ideas. While in fact he inherited from the Smith regime in New York State a progressive power policy which he carried on and lent additional force, his plan for state-owned plants and operation in some cases, with mere regulation in others, was weak at important points in the state, and, what is especially noteworthy, did not include the distribution of current to the consumer, the very crux of the whole rate problem. He appointed to his public utilities commission one especially bad member with a reactionary power record; he was recently pronounced "safe" by William H. Woodin, active in huge utilities interests; and notwithstanding the protests of competent investigators who asked for his help, he maintained a splendid isolation while the electric light and power trust in New York City, at a time when it was making more money than ever before in spite of the depression, raised costs for fifty per cent of the consumers. Senator Norris and others whose exuberance over Roosevelt on the power question can be explained by their political habit of measuring against the past rather than the future, expect that as president Roosevelt would apply nationally the principles he has advocated in New York, and in his addresses during the campaign; but in the face of his actual record, there seems no really substantial basis for such a hope.

Nor is the Roosevelt labor record anything to hold up as an ensign of true loyalty to working people. While Roosevelt has bemoaned the lot of those who work excessive hours, he has 200,000 or so forgotten men in his home state who work seven days a week, and he allowed a bill to enforce one day's rest to die in committee without the benefit of a kindly word. As a matter of cold, brutal fact, Governor Roosevelt turned down a number of responsible pleas for a sp cial session of the legislature to enact measures f partially adequate relief for the unemployed, standir stolidly by and watching cities and towns all over th state cut down on the meager sums they were spendir for relief, because they lacked funds which only th state could supply through increased taxation c higher fortunes and incomes. Among those urging special session, apart from the Socialist Party whic took the initiative, were the New York Central Trad and Labor Council and, be it noted, the State Co ference of Mayors. Yet Mr. Roosevelt utters grand ose words about putting a million men to work at r forestation—a preposterous scheme as stated by hin without the funds, without the seedlings, or any pern anent plan for years of technical development onl feasible under socialization—nevertheless in the be traditions of blind if not venal labor leadership, secu ing the endorsement of reactionary trade union head

Roosevelt showed dignity and force in his handlin of the Walker "trial." Previously, however, he ha snarled viciously, not at Tammany corruptionists, but a Dr. John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wis who had urged him to take vigorous action. Mor over, his risk in opposing Tammany was generall overestimated, bosses in the Bronx and in Queens fee ing none too sad at seeing the prestige of rival boss suffer. Since the proceedings over the wise-crackin Jimmy the Tammany tiger has curled up on M Roosevelt's rug, hoping for the best.

On the various aspects of international relation Franklin Roosevelt is probably the worst major part candidate in years. He espoused the League of N tions in 1920 at the behest of Wilson, and rejected in 1932 to placate W. R. Hearst. He opposes ca cellation of the war debts, but with no alternative pr gram. He is an imperialist, a reactionary on the ra question, who was largely responsible, as Assista Secretary of the Navy, for our brutal invasion c Haiti with its train of financial piracy, forced labo and Marine murders. He has publicly glorified th navy, and continues to call for "an adequate army an navy" without the least definition. He had a big han in the huge preparedness drive of 1916; and he ha refused to commit himself on war and peace by dire answers to questions from organized pacifists.

That is the Democratic candidate—ally of Hear and Garner, Huey Long, Burton K. Wheeler, Bernar Baruch, George Norris, and Frank Hague, of hone progressives and notorious city bosses. A weathe vane, beautiful against the sky, shining and resplen ent, built of hollow brass.

as Brailsford sees it

Gandhi's Defiance

MR. GANDHI'S threat to starve himself to death unless the British government will reverse one of its decisions regarding the future franchise in India carries us back into a world of prehistoric faith—a faith that is much more in Gandhi's mind than an appeal to the sympathies of his countrymen and of the civilized world. It is the most ancient of Indian beliefs that a saint who mortifies his flesh gains thereby a power which makes him master even of the gods and the stars. The *yogis* have practised these austerities, as the seals found in prehistoric cities bear witness, for five thousand years. Mr. Gandhi's originality is that he has turned this tactic to political use. I can see as yet no sign that English public opinion even dimly realizes the experience through which India will pass if nothing happens to prevent her leader's fast. Day after day, as the news of his condition runs from mouth to mouth in the remotest villages, millions of men will cease their work; this vast land, praying, fasting and demonstrating in processions which the police will be wholly unable to prevent, will think of nothing else. Imagine a crucifixion lengthening out from days to weeks and a bereaving nation on its knees round Calvary, and you will have some conception of the agony through which India will pass. This singular little man, so quiet, so humorous, so kindly, is more than leader and saint; the common folk all but deify him, and will see in his self-immolation a cosmic struggle with the powers of darkness. Nothing, if he dies, will ever be the same again. A leader who stood for restraint and old-world piety will be gone, and young India will turn to violence in its rage against Pilate's Empire. No one will remember the precise occasion of his sacrifice; it is the way of memory to simplify. Indeed, it would be a mistake to scrutinize the actual dispute too closely. This act is the culmination of Mr. Gandhi's whole campaign of "soul force," as he calls it, against brute force. The thousands of his followers who stood calmly under the *lathi* blows of the police, marched to prison, or risked the confiscation of their farms by refusing the land tax, were rehearsing for this final trial. This method is as much a form of coercion as the use of force, for it is an attempt to overcome the will of another without convincing his reason. In this case it owes its effectiveness to the fame and character of the man who wields it. The world respects Gandhi as it once respected Tolstoy.

Tactically, this strange man has made a singular choice in selecting the question of the "untouchables" for his last challenge. Few Indians outside the Hindu community and fewer Europeans will readily grasp his motives, though for somewhat different reasons one may be opposed to the decision of Mr. MacDonald, who, since the spokesmen of the various Indian communities failed to reach an understanding among themselves at the Round Table Conference, himself dictated a settlement. It is based on the electoral system which the British government introduced with the earliest reforms. Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs are registered in distinct electorates, and vote separately for candidates of their own faith. It is a plan which must destroy, while it endures, any hope of secular democracy in India. It perpetuates the feud between these religions, stands in the way of any coöperation on common action among them, and delays the formation of parties based on class lines or social programs. Needless to say, it checks the development of Indian nationalism, and serves the interests of the Imperial Power, which can play off the minorities against the Hindu majority, and buy their support with places and honors. Mr. MacDonald has now extended this wretched system to the "untouchables." These outcasts, who number fully 40 millions, stand in hopeless degradation outside the pale of Hindu society, yet bound by faith to the Hindu religion. Their touch, even their shadow defiles a caste Hindu. They may not drink from the village well, enter a temple or use a common school. They live, dirty, neglected, ignorant, despised, in isolated groups of huts, outside the villages. Though conquest began and superstition stereotyped their degradation, it has an economic aspect. They are landless laborers, scavengers or tanners, at the mercy of every form of exploitation, alike in the fields and the factories. They are a numerous but scattered minority, and since they too are divided into many sub-castes, which are untouchable to each other, it is not easy to organize them. A very few, some by having served in the old days in the British army, have acquired some property and a little education, but more have turned to Islam or Christianity. Proportional representation may be too difficult a system for a largely illiterate electorate,

but the plan known in India as the "reservation of seats" would sufficiently protect minority rights. By that plan a certain number of seats must be filled by those candidates belonging to the minority who receive the highest votes. A Hindu may, however, vote for a Moslem, and vice versa, and parties may submit a common list drawn from both crews.

MR. MACDONALD has decided to give the very few "untouchables" who will be qualified by property or educational tests as electors, two votes apiece. One of these they will exercise in the general Hindu electorate; the other in a new separate electorate of their own. Mr. Gandhi demands votes for all, but opposes the creation of a separate electorate, on the ground that this will perpetuate their degradation and destroy the unity of the Hindu religious fold. As to that, I confess myself indifferent. The chief need of India is a wave of free thought to sweep this cramping religion away, and with it the whole monstrous system of caste. But on the other grounds I am with him. Poor as these "untouchables" are, they are not the whole of the Indian proletariat. There are caste Hindus and Moslems, peasants and laborers, who are as poor and as ignorant, though less degraded. The first step in organizing the Indian workers is to break down these religious divisions. That cannot be done while these communal electorates remain. The few "untouchables" who will have votes will now be grouped in yet another party on the basis of religion, which will combine with the Moslems to support the Imperial Power.

An attempt will certainly be made, while Mr. Gandhi fasts, to bring the leaders of the Indian religions together to work out among themselves an agreed compromise. It will not be easy, but such a miracle is just conceivable; for this Hindu leader is so universally beloved that no party, not even the Moslems, will wish to share the responsibility for his death. If a voluntary agreement can be reached by all the Indian groups, Mr. MacDonald is pledged to accept it. Failing this not very probable solution, the chief immediate result of Mr. Gandhi's act will be to destroy all the work done during the past two years to prepare a federal constitution for India. Even without this final blow there was little prospect that India would have consented to work it. One cannot force a constitution on a nation by muzzling its press, imprisoning its leaders to the number of fifty or, as some reckon, eighty thousand, and attempting to destroy the party with which half or two-thirds of it sympathize. This repression has not crushed the Congress Party, though it has driven it underground. It is still as much alive as ever, and as resolute in its resistance. Even the moderate Hindu liberals and the Sikhs have now been driven into opposition by the clumsy policy of Sir Samuel Hoare. The proposed constitution is unacceptable from the nationalist standpoint, since it will deprive the Federal Assembly of any effective control over the budget, the army, foreign policy, and banking for a period of 20 years at least, while the army is gradually Indianized. Some limitation of India's full self-government may be inevitable during the period of transition, but the time is too long and the restrictions too sweeping. Much more objectionable from the Socialist standpoint is the heavy Conservative bias of this constitution. The princes of the native feudatory states retain their autocracy, and they will dominate the federal assembly. Even in the provinces of British India, where the princes have no power, the franchise is to be on a property basis; landlords and commercial interests are given, together with a few seats for labor, special and disproportionate representation, and finally the religious electorates will keep the masses divided. One need not lament the loss of this constitution, which will be used, if at all, only as a weapon of opposition. If the world-wide slump continues and the Indian peasant sinks under an ever growing load of debt, one foresees the deepening of this nationalist agitation until it becomes what in some districts it is already, a social revolt.

H. N. Brailsford

London, September 14, 1932

An Earlier and Longer Fast

THE fast began towards the end of September, 1924, and lasted for twenty-one days. It was undertaken at a time when he had only just recovered from a very serious illness and operation. . . . He determined, in spite of his weakness after very serious illness, to undertake a twenty-one days' fast as an act of penance on behalf of the sins and infirmities of his own people. He stated, in the letter which he published, that the fast was a matter between himself and God, for his own self-purification. Nevertheless, it could not possibly be kept from the public, and the simple news of it at once brought to an end the fatal riots which had been so frequent before. It also roused, as nothing else had done, the National leaders to deal with this one problem as a matter of life and death for India as a nation.

On the twelfth day the crisis came. Both the doctors considered that his life was in immediate danger, and pressed him to take food. I was asked to accompany them, in order to persuade him to do so. It was his day of silence, and he wrote on a slate his reply to our anxious entreaty in these words: "Have faith in God." When we pressed him still further, he wrote again: "You have forgotten the power of prayer." We remained intensely anxious all that night which was a night of storm and thunder at the close of the monsoon. But the next morning he showed no more signs of weakening, and he remained bright and radiant to the end, when the twenty-one days were completed. It is true that others have fasted for a longer period than this; but rarely has such a thing been done with a body so weak and emaciated with illness as his had been before the fast began.—*C. F. Andrews in "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas."*

Who Are the Communists?*

McALISTER COLEMAN

EVEN the Daughters of the American Revolution now recognize the name of William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President of the United States, and use it to shush their non-revolutionary young into terrified silence. There is before me, as I write, an article in the *Saturday Evening Post,* called "Seeing Red," by Boyden Sparkes, a good reporter who really knows better. It describes the widespread and malignant growth of Communism in the United States, the wicked and subversive tactics of its followers and the nobility of our constabulary in suppressing Red demonstrations. When Mr. Foster and the Communists can make the *Saturday Evening Post,* they have definitely arrived in the consciousness of the middle people. Indeed the publicity which they are now receiving makes the proposal of John Dos Passos, one of their many new-found allies among the intelligentsia, that the Workers' Party (Communist) hire Ivy Lee for press-agent seem entirely superfluous. The most successful of "public relations counsellors" could scarcely have surpassed the miraculous achievement whereby the activities of a handful of determined people so regularly make the front pages. Much depends of course upon your evaluation of such publicity. The Communists apparently share the point of view of a famous New York coroner who once said to an assemblage of reporters, "Boys, call me any nasty thing you want, but for Heaven's sake, don't forget to mention my name."

Although it is true that communism has become a most irritating beam in the eye of "respectable" America, little is known about the personalities or backgrounds of its leaders. The man in the subway concludes that "they are all dirty foreigners who ought to go back to Russia where they came from, if they don't like this country." He might be mildly surprised to learn that the birth-place of William Zebulon Foster is Taunton, Massachusetts, and that other prominent Communists spring from such un-American sources as Wichita, Kansas; San Antonio, Texas; Huntingdon, Pennsylvania; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It might further surprise him to learn of the number of Communists possessed of college degrees and of the number who could (but who never would) tell of a long American lineage.

It was inevitable that, strive as they might to play down personalities, certain Communist leaders should come to the fore in America. Among them William Foster is easily the best known, though not necessarily the most influential in his party, the only orthodox Communist party in this country. This is the third time he has run for President on the official C. P. ticket. In 1924 he received 33,000 votes; in 1928, 48,000. This year he will undoubtedly far surpass the latter figure. He is the candidate of a party whose active membership is estimated (the Communists do no give out membership figures) at 15,000 but whose affiliated organizations claim three or four times that number. He is a hard-working, deadly serious, mild-mannered man, whose physical appearance is as colorless as his career is colorful. He has been a stormy petrel flickering in and out of the American labor movement since the days when Eugene Debs was first rallying the Socialists in 1900. He has been a member of the Socialist Party, the I. W. W., the Syndicalist League of North America, and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, affiliated with the A. F. of L. He has been Secretary-Treasurer of the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers, Secretary-Treasurer of the Trade Union Educational League and Chairman of the Workers' Party.

The mere detailing of these activities, some of them so incongruous with Foster's present-day position, indicates the struggles of the man to find a satisfactory political and social philosophy. He has had his place high in the counsels of the organized and conservative labor movement of the country and has fiercely attacked that movement. An early convert to socialism (he joined the Socialist Party at the age of nineteen and was expelled nine years later), there is now nothing in his vocabulary of vituperation too contemptuous to describe his feelings about the Socialists. At one time he ardently espoused the syndicalism of the Wobblies, at another he said that "in the main" his opinions were the same as those of tired, old Sam Gompers. He was a member of a trade-union committee which sold Liberty Bonds among the Chicago packing house workers during the War. Today he foretells a great "civil war" against the government which issued those bonds. He has been orthodox and outlaw, regular and rebel, so that, dwelling on these contradictions, "Max Nomad," his latest biographer, says of Foster that he is a "very sad and disappointed man." If we remember that Nomad is the pen-name used by a "philosophical anarchist" whose every instinct is hostile to communism, we will not take this estimate too seriously. Certainly, when he swings into action, Foster does not give the appearance of either

* This is the third of a series of four articles describing the personnel of each of the political parties. Mr. Coleman will complete the series with an analysis of the Socialist Party in our next issue.—THE EDITORS.

a sad man or a disappointed one. He talks to his working-class audiences simply, directly and forcefully, without any attempt at fireworks.

THIS son of a small-town cab-washer, who went to work at the age of ten years and who has been a sculptor's apprentice, type founder, factory worker, steam engineer, steam fitter, railroad brakeman, railroad fireman, logger, salesman, street car motorman, longshoreman, farmer, railroad car inspector and sailor, knows his proletarian America and the people thereof. He is at his best on an organizing job. His conduct of the strike of 400,000 steel workers in 1919 proved his plebeian mettle. That strike, sabotaged by Gompers and the hierarchy of the A. F. of L., in the course of which an army of twenty thousand armed men was employed by the steel companies to drive "Foster's hunkies" back to work, proved to the world that in Foster the workers had a man courageous, intelligent, industrious. His enemies never tire of quoting Foster's equivocal answers to the Congressmen who investigated his activities during the strike. A just appraisal of those answers would attribute them to the fact that Foster realized that he was in the presence of his "class-enemies" and was not willing to furnish them with any added ammunition.

When it comes to Foster the politician and propagandist, the most lenient of his critics might well falter. It is impossible to retrace here his tortuous course through the mire of the internal politics of the various Communist groups. From the time of his arrest in 1922 at the bizarre "secret convention" of the underground Communists on a Michigan sand-dune, to the present, he has been in the thick of all the bitter factional rows which have drained the very life-blood of the movement. He has fought, almost with desperation, to hold his every job in the party and has shown no mercy to his opponents. He has accepted, with sycophantic eagerness, decisions from Moscow's Communist International affecting conditions in America; decisions which he must have known in his heart were absurd. No lesser word than "scurrilous" will describe his attacks on his erstwhile comrades in the Socialist Party.

"Would that mine enemy had written a book," is a text that Mr. Foster might well ponder. His writings are cold, repetitious and intolerably dull. Even his story of the steel strike in which he played so conspicuous a part lacks any human interest and his latest opus, *Toward Soviet America,* contains no hint of the fires which must burn beneath the placid exterior of its author.

The Workers' Party has been in existence since 1921. In the course of those eleven years, with Foster always in a prominent position, the Communists have been unable to win the allegiance of any large cross-section of American labor. Even in times of depression, wage-cuts and near starvation, the party's following does no go much beyond the unskilled, alien-born and most des perate of the nation's workers. There are rumors tha Foster is slipping; that after this campaign he wi be relegated to the background; that a party whose ap peal is so largely to revolutionary youth needs younger-minded, more imaginative leadership. Ther have been these rumors about Foster before. Some how he always comes up, smiling his quiet smile, as h did after his hard fight with the Ruthenberg grou in 1924 and later, after his one-man victory over th Lovestone-ites three years ago. On both occasions h had the support of the all-powerful Communist Inter national in Moscow. The reason for the present cro of rumors is the indication of the shifting of that sup port by the elevation of Earl Browder to Foster' former position as chairman of the Executive Commit tee of the party.

THERE must, of course, if just for the sake of the picturesque, always be a man behind the throne This power, in the Communist organization, is Mr Browder. Insiders will tell you that Earl Russel Browder, who is ten years younger than Foster, is th real brains of the party, responsible for such decision as are made independently of the Moscow bosses Browder's background is almost embarrassingly bour geois. He was born in Wichita, Kansas, the son of a teacher, and graduated from Lincoln Jefferson Colleg with the degree of LL.B. He is a Certified Publi Accountant and for eighteen years worked in offices He served two years in Leavenworth for his anti-wa activities and was a member of the first executive com mittee of the Workers' Party. He was active in th organization of the Trade Union Educational League the earliest Communist attempt to "bore from within' the American labor movement, and has been one o the leading Communist journalists. Like Foster, h is humorless, vindictive in his hatred for the Socialists and a glutton for work. He tends carefully to the building of his political fences in Russia and has been more stable in his Communist philosophy than has Foster. For this his present position is reward.

With an unimpressive presence and no oratorical ability, Mr. Browder seems an unlikely leader of the revolutionary masses. At the present phase of the development of American communism, however, inter-party political adroitness counts heavily, and of this Browder is abundantly possessed. He, instead of Foster, may prove to be the stop-gap selected by Moscow until the appearance of a more magnetic leader.

Another prominent Communist who has successfully lived down his bourgeois antecedents is the militant Robert Minor, at one time one of the most promising of America's young cartoonists. For reasons attributed to some vagary of the "iron discipline" of the party, Minor several years ago laid aside his pencils

id devoted all his militant energies to speaking and riting. His powerfully built figure has been in the n of many a Communist demonstration in New ork's embattled Union Square, and he has been a ining mark for the police with whom he has fre-uently come into violent physical combat. Repeated uggings and long jail sentences have done much to ndermine his health, but nothing to break his spirit.

The official connection of the lean, bespectacled obert Williams Dunn, one of the soundest of labor esearchers, with the Communists is not clear, but there s no question but that his sympathies are all with hem. He has done valuable work in showing up the ctivities of labor spies and the hypocrisies of "com-any unions." Like Solon De Leon, son of the famous Daniel, long leader of the Socialist Labor Party, Dunn rings to the Communist arsenal a sorely needed sup-ly of factual ammunition. In Dunn, De Leon, Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester the party has a devoted and of hard-digging fact-finders. Much of their work goes for naught because of the official insistence that everything be made to fit the Moscow conception of American conditions, an attitude which drove Scott Nearing clear off the Communist reservation.

THE histories of the wheel-horses of the party, such men as J. Louis Engdahl, William Weinstone, Israel Amter, who regularly run on the party tickets, are active in organization and strike relief work and subject themselves and those of lower rank in the party to the sternest of discipline, run much along the same general lines. Most of them were left-wing Socialists who resigned or were expelled from the S. P. in the historic split of 1919, when the question of affiliation with the Third or Communist International arose to harass Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger and the other Socialist leaders. They never forget the bitterness engendered during that large-scale family row and devote no small part of their energies to making elaborate snoots in the direction of the Socialists. Not an issue of the *Daily Worker* may appear from its offices on East 13th Street, New York, without repeating to its readers that the Socialists are "the third party of capitalism, whose historic mission it is to betray the workers," and that "the Reverend Norman Thomas" is really in cahoots with the bosses.

It is ironic but true that some of the best Communist intelligences in this country are outside the official party. The energetic Jay Lovestone, a close student of American conditions, coming to the conclusion that those conditions do not point to an immediate revolution *à la Russe,* is excommunicated after a resounding fracas with Foster and his followers, who at the time of the trouble were in a hopeless minority. Lovestone and his group, who call themselves "The Communist Party (Majority Group)," run the well-attended Workers School on the East Side of New York, under the leadership of Bert Wolfe, and edit a paper, the *Workers Age,* which shines in comparison with the fantastic *Daily Worker.*

Since everything that happens in Russia has its instant repercussions in the Communist movement here, it is not surprising to find that the exiled Trotzky has his American followers in the shape of "The Communist League of America (Opposition)," headed by the able James P. Cannon. Cannon, at one time a hotel worker and bartender, is an effective speaker and organizer, who, at present, is causing the official party all sorts of grief. Also a sympathizer with Trotzky's intransigent philosophy of revolution is Albert Weisbord, the Harvard graduate and Phi Beta Kappa man who came to brief fame during the strike of the Passaic textile workers. He and Vera Buch are the League for the Class Struggle. Then, of course, there is the Proletarian Party, which skirmishes on the extreme left of all the Communist factions.

Within the past year or so there have gone over to Communism (though not necessarily to membership in the party) a number of younger intelligentsia who look on socialism as decidedly old hat and whose interests are captured by the stunning performance of the Soviets. Among these the names of Dos Passos, Malcolm Cowley, Edmund Wilson and Waldo Frank loom large. Michael Gold, of course, with his magazine, *The New Masses,* has long been accredited one of the chief ballyhoo men for communism, and Theodore Dreiser, according to latest accounts, is still under probation with the officialdom of the C. P. on the ground that some of his earlier writings showed disturbingly bourgeois trends.

So there they are, some of the men and women whose activities make restless the slumbers of the D. A. R.'s and the other conservators of the *status quo.* Some years ago Benjamin Stolberg referred to them as "The Peter Pans of Radicalism." But today the majority of them have outgrown their red adolescence and are well-nigh the hard-boiled realists they picture themselves to be. They have learned through almost daily contacts with the dispossesed throughout these past 11 years the extent to which class-consciousness has penetrated the mass of America's workers. In their more candid moments some of these will admit that a violent revolution in America still seems a long way off. But there is not one of them who does not sincerely believe that such a revolution is inevitable. Most of them back up this belief by 10 or 12 hours a day of underpaid or altogether unpaid back-breaking work. Membership in any of the Communist groups implies sacrifice and subjection to discipline such as few other radicals are willing to make. Just now the fruits of all these labors seem meagre in comparison with the efforts involved. But let the present situation continue for a few more years and who knows?

Why Religion Is Anxious

GEORGE A. COE

THERE is something paradoxical about the religious anxiety that pervades our part of the world. For it is anxiety about religion taken as an assumed totality far more than it is jealousy for a particular doctrine or mode of life or of worship. Moreover, this rather agonized tenseness is supposed to be a sign of intense religiousness. But how can piety take this form? Is not the pious soul one who serenely trusts, or at least one whose devotion is without the inner obstruction of fear? Would not the surmise be justified that religion that is anxious about the future of religion in the world is itself already a sick religion?

The same surmise arises if we approach the present situation from the cosmic rather than the merely psychological angle. If religion be a true response to reality—if the nature of things here utters itself—then cosmic forces have charge of the matter, and our fears are *de trop*. If there be a God, surely he will make himself effective; we shall not be able to escape him or to ignore him. Why, then, the present effort to hold up the sky?

The suggestion obtrudes itself, moreover, not only that these pious fears are misdirected, but also that the intensity of this anxiety covers some flinching of reality. Possibly piety is shrinking from some change within itself that the growing experience of men makes imperative. In fact, what is happening appears to be this: Dimly, often subconsciously, men are wrestling with a factor of unreality in their lives and in their religion; an actuality of experience is being evaded; a readjustment is called for that is so difficult that substitutes for it are being sought; in short, men are engaged in being very religious in general (which is relatively easy) instead of being deeply religious at the specific point where religious devotion would count most and cost most at the present juncture of history.

In business the profit motive, which is purely selfish and directly (not incidentally) inhuman, operates alongside of desires to be humane and of use to mankind. Here is an inner division, a sickness of the mind, that can be healed only by the expulsion of one or the other of these incompatible motives. What happens in practice is that the profit motive dominates the conduct of business, while idealistic longings dominate self-judgment. Men actually believe that their character is defined by these longings rather than by their economic principles and practices. The entire economic order is, in fact, honeycombed with this duplicity. Many thoughtful business men recognize the fact and are troubled by it, but in general—almost without exception in the United States—the economic consciousness assumes as valid, and therefore as one's bed-rock world, a set of business principles that directly contradict what the same consciousness regards as essential to the good life.

OUR political life also is honeycombed with duplicity, the same duplicity. The whole world knows that there are wheels within wheels, and that the inner wheels are different from those that are visible to the public. Party platforms of the ordinary type do not mean all that they say, and they do not avow all that is intended. Who does not know this fact? Here again the chief struggle originates in the economic sphere. The ultimate control of both the old parties is economic, and there are not two controls for two parties but one control for both.

The same sickness infects the morals of our time. Even our conscientious, high-minded men and women to whom one would intrust his life and honor, deny with their lips and sincerely reject in their thought much of the basic ethics of capitalism at the same time that they get their living, their means of culture, and financial support for their ideals by working the capitalist system without protest. They genuinely desire justice in the world, yet they also stand by economic practices that make a just society impossible. When theories of ethics are in question, never does food getting, or labor, or poverty and insecurity occupy a place that corresponds in prominence and in power with its situation in real life. What is called ethics is divided within itself; it is partly realistic, partly abstract and visionary. What wonder that an increasing multitude are asking: What, after all, does it mean to say that anything is right or wrong?

Education reflects, of course, this economic, political and ethical situation. The schools teach ideals, of course—neighborliness, merciful kindness, law and order, industry, sobriety, patriotism—yet it is a notorious fact, well recognized by the leaders of our school system, that not yet has public education found a way to teach good citizenship effectively. The homeland of free schools and of compulsory schooling is inhabited by a politically illiterate people. The main reason for this is that our sincerely aspiring teachers and administrators of education take over into the schools the same divided self that we have found outside the schools. The schools do stand for ideals, but the actualities of our economic and political life are

rred and not seldom painted in colors that mislead. the points where intelligent, aggressive citizenship most needed, there is, for the most part, silence or titude.

THIS entire stream—economic, political, ethical, educational—pours itself into the churches. The rrent notion that "our religion" is a stream that ws unmixed and pure from its ancient fountain-head completely mistaken. Our actual religion is the de-res, purposes and conduct that are taken as valid in e sight of God. What are these desires, purposes, nd conduct? Some of the desires that religion hal-ws look towards an ideal of justice upon earth. In e brightness of this ideal men worship, confessing nd aspiring. They do it mostly without hypocrisy, ut also without clarity, for they rarely realize that e same religious process that sanctifies their imagin-ry world of aspiration sanctifies also desires, pur-oses, and conduct that inevitably prevent this imag-nary world from becoming real. It is an established act that religion in our part of the world has become onformed to the ethical presuppositions of capitalism. These presuppositions are, indeed, condemned every unday, but the condemnation does not disturb busi-ess very often. Indeed, business rather enjoys this maginative condemnation and repentance, for it en-ables one to feel pious without taking any risk.

Now we are ready to see in perspective the current anxiety of religion concerning the prospects of religion. The clue to the situation is the breakdown of capital-ism. The basis of our economic order proves to be quicksand rather than rock; consequently, since relig-ion has made this quicksand a part of its own sup-posedly "sure foundation," there is fear lest the whole sanctuary fall.

This fear is justified! Christianity will not and cannot live a vigorous life while it clings to its present self-contradiction. If its aspiration for a just society upon earth is valid, its accommodation to capitalism cannot be valid; it is infidelity and unfaith. One or the other of these two—Christianity's belief in a Christ-like society and its acquiescence in the ethics of capital-ism—must yield. Either Christianity will turn against capitalism, or it will suffer the same paralysis that capitalism is already displaying. A new economic order is now germinating. Like the old one, it will be one of the dominating elements, possibly the dominat-ing element, in the entire culture of the future, religion included. Most of our would-be Christians do not yet perceive this; they merely know that something por-tentous is happening, they fear, and they fly for refuge to—what?

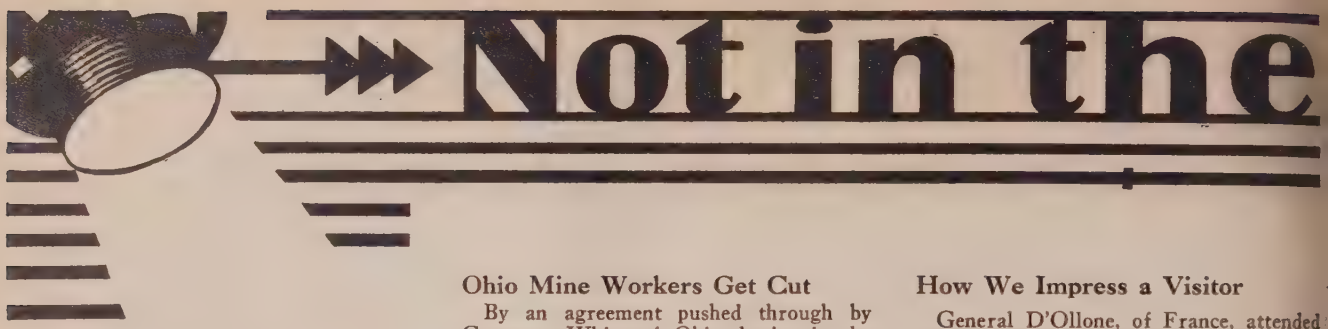
In order to answer this question fully, we must again point out that their anxiety concerns religion. They are afraid that God will be forgotten. That is, they are not most concerned for the men, women, and children who are suffering unjustly because of our economic conduct. Their problem is not: How shall the people be fed? but, How shall the church recover her prestige, and How shall sound beliefs be reinstated in the popular mind? To the self-contradiction that vitiates such religion few eyes are as yet open.

The current anxiety about religion is therefore es-sentially a defense mechanism, a confused or subcon-scious effort to be pious and safe at a cost less than the cost of social righteousness. A minority of our church people—happily, a rapidly increasing minority—focal-ize *their* religious anxiety, not upon religion, but upon the men, women and children whose primary needs are not met by the existing economic organization. War-rant for this kind of anxious religion is found in an-cient sources, both Jewish and Christian. These sources picture the intensely religious man as on fire against economic injustice, as despising and endeavor-ing to undermine what then was taken as culture and religion, and as turning from the sanctuary to needy people, assuming that all this is the service of God.

A member of the senior class in a theological sem-inary recently propounded this question to a much older man: "What, in this troublous time, is the out-look for religion?" The reply was substantially this: Our religion is in trouble, deep trouble, because it is implicated in our decaying economic order. But our religion contains, and always has contained, the prin-ciple of love or social justice which, if it should be fol-lowed, would produce a radical social and economic transformation. The future of Christianity depends altogether upon the use that it makes of this radical principle. The one and only chance that our religion has for recovery and rejuvenation is, in the name of this principle, to reject capitalism and to work for a new economic order in which the love that is justice shall have full opportunity. If the churches should take this course, they would experience a more vigor-ous life than they have had since primitive days.

From Harper's Magazine

Only one third party can possibly do anything this fall—the Socialists. They suffer under two heavy handicaps—their name, which the average American still distrusts; and the general opinion that to vote for Norman Thomas this fall is to throw your vote away. But to vote for Hoover or Roosevelt is also to throw your vote away if you want a government that will try seriously and intelligently to do something to cure the present sickness of society. And five or six million votes for Thomas this fall would not be thrown away; they would throw a scare into one or both of the old parties and bring American politics a little closer to reality. . . . If you can't swallow the name, if you prefer to vote for the kind of politicians we used to think we could afford in the fat years—well, God save the United States.—*Elmer Davis, Harper's Magazine, September, 1932.*



Pittsburgh Methodists Speak Vigorously

"We call our Church to repentance for its ethical callousness," reads a recent report of the Commission on Social Service of the Pittsburgh Methodist Conference. "We call upon our ministers and laymen alike to face frankly the emphatic charge rising from many quarters that the present economic order is not only outworn but vicious. . . . We commit ourselves to the principle of an economy based upon scientific planning as opposed to the principle of laissez-faire and competition that make for periodic chaos and strife."

No Color Bar in Education

The higher schools and universities of France have been thrown open to colored students from the colonies on an equal basis with French students. The only exceptions are found in military and naval schools.

Reynolds New Secretary of N.M.W.M.

Reginald Reynolds, the young Englishman who came into general fame when he was charged by Mahatma Gandhi with the task of carrying the crucial message to Lord Irwin, then Viceroy, during the critical early days of the present civil disobedience campaign, has been chosen secretary of the British No More War Movement. The movement has also selected H. Runham Brown, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, as its Honorary Secretary pro tem, and is reorganizing its work on more vigorous lines, with special efforts to bridge the remaining gaps between the peace movement and labor.

A "Course" in War Resistance

With the opening of the college year, comes to an end the "evening course" in war resistance at the corner of Broadway and 116th Street, New York, where throughout the summer, every Monday evening, mass meetings of students have been addressed by Tucker P. Smith of the Committee on Militarism in Education, Frank Olmstead, Leon Rosser Land, and other leaders in the War Resisters League. Similarly, every Wednesday and Friday evening, lectures on war resistance were given in various parts of the Bronx by younger members of the Bronx Free Fellowship.

Ohio Mine Workers Get Cut

By an agreement pushed through by Governor White of Ohio, leader in the Democratic Party and one of the nominees for the presidency, miners have been obliged to accept a new and lower pay rate of $3.28 a day.

Starvation Wages in New Orleans

Declaring that it "knows firsthand" of deplorable labor policies in New Orleans restaurants and cafes, the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor asserts that if the commission to investigate working conditions in Louisiana which was authorized by the constitutional convention of 1921 is ever to be appointed and put to work, that time should be now. Waitresses are receiving in certain establishments only six cents per hour, living really on chance tips when living on earnings at all. These workers have to return five cents a day for so-called maid service, being also required to pay 25 cents a week for a cap or head band. "If a waitress works six full days," says the Women's Bureau, she would earn $3.24, and after making the deductions above mentioned she has a net balance left of $2.19; and should she be obliged to pay street car fare both ways daily, she would have a net balance of $1.35 for her week's work."

Another Convert to Dictatorship

Ralph Adams Cram, the famous architect and devotee of the Middle Ages, has recently joined the ranks of those who believe a dictatorship may be necessary in order to avoid a "catastrophe which may be as complete as that which overtook Classical civilization and brought in the era of the Dark Ages." With deep conviction, he writes: "I would suggest that the organic law, together with all man-made laws, at any time of crisis, may be and must be superseded by direct action based on the general welfare of the people of any nation. This applies directly to the Constitution of the United States. . . . I suggest that in the present crisis in world affairs . . . it is the duty of the President of the United States to act outside the law . . ." The editor of the *Commonweal* called especial attention to Mr. Cram's insistence that " . . . in times of crisis democratic processes break down, and that if the spirit of free institutions is to be preserved, the strangling clutch of legislative and bureaucratic methods must be relaxed even if it takes somewhat violent means to accomplish the purpose."

How We Impress a Visitor

General D'Ollone, of France, attended the Yorktown anniversary celebration in October of last year and later wrote his impressions of America in the *Revue de France*. The thing that surprised the French general was the "prevalence of militarism, the military training corps at the university, and the many statues commemorating generals rather than writers or politicians."

Unemployment Insurance Gains Headway

Public support for American plans looking toward unemployment insurance is rapidly growing, and bills will be introduced in more than 30 state legislatures and in Congress next January, it has been stated by John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation. The legislation proposed, however, would differ from the more socialistic forms of unemployment insurance abroad in that it would place the entire burden upon the employers (except when workers themselves wished to contribute in order to build up bigger benefit funds) and instead of continuing as long as a worker is out of a job, would only give him a sum of approximately $10 a week for a total of ten weeks in the year. What the worker out of a job would live on during the rest of the year is not stated.

National Council Month

October 1 to 30 will be recognized as National Council Month by club-women throughout the country. Women's clubs in thousands of communities, representing a membership of approximately 5,000,000, will share in its observance. The primary objective will be to obtain the additional 500,000 signatures needed to complete the Council's campaign for 1,000,000 signatures to a petition addressed to foreign governments asking them to send representative women to this country for an international congress which will be held July 16-22 next year in connection with the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. A secondary but hardly less important objective, according to the Council's announcements, will be to acquaint the women of the country with the part this 44-year-old organization, founded by Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Clara Barton, May Wright Sewall, and Frances E. Willard, will play in the Exposition.

Headlines

tern the Homeless?

Eradication of begging, compulsory ork in return for relief, and forced conement in internment farms of homeis unemployed who do not remain in one gion, are some of the plans proposed in nada by the advisory relief committee nich has reported to the Premier of ntario. The report was approved by e authorities of the province, and forarded to Ottawa for the consideration the federal cabinet, with a view to carring out this program on a dominionide scale.

malgamated Wins in Baltimore

All doubt that the Amalgamated Clothg Workers of America are staging a rilliant come-back in the strike of 5,200 orkers in the men's clothing industry in altimore has vanished with the surrender f the Consolidated Tailors, Inc., emloyers of 500 to 600 workers. This big hop, which has recently signed the union greement after a week of the strike, was onsidered by both sides a pivotal point in he contest. "We have now settled with little over 50 inside shops and their conractors, who number between 150 and 175 together," said Hyman Blumberg, ice-president of the Amalgamated and director of the strike. "Their workers go ack to work at wage increases of from 0 to 20 per cent. We have the market rom 75 to 80 per cent organized now, nd we will keep on until we have it 100 er cent. There are only two big shops till holding out."

'Conscript Wealth for the Crisis"

Conscription of wealth as a means of naking war on the depression is advocated y Oscar Bellanger, member of Parliament for Bellechase, a largely rural district in Quebec. He says: "According o the Prime Minister the crisis during the var was not as serious as it is now; still onscription was established at that time. t was a conscription of blood. It was hen 'our war,' the war of the common eople. During that period our great inanciers, our purveyors of bacon and nilitary equipment, were growing rich, while the common people, the rank and ile, were sent to the shambles. Now we ave another war; we are going through crisis said to be more serious. It is ow 'their war,' the war of the financiers rought about by their own blunders and nore particularly by their own cupidity. Since it is 'their war,' let them bear its consequences and obligations; let them nake the same sacrifices they asked us to nake between 1914 and 1918."

Students Publish Radical Magazine

The Intercollegiate Student Council of the League for Industrial Democracy announced publication of *Revolt,* a magazine issued by Socialist students attempting to build a society for use instead of profit.

G. O. P. Runs Scandal Sheet

Alarmed by the sweeping progress of the Farmer-Labor Party candidates in Minnesota, the Republicans have resorted to the use of a free delivery paper, *The Minnesota Voice,* which has been making its appearance on the rural mail routes. It consists of defamatory attacks on the Farmer-Labor candidates, who report, nevertheless, that things do not look rosy for the Grand Old Party in their state.

Harlan Miners Struggle On

Although defense funds are reported to be low by the General Defense Committee, 555 West Lake St., Chicago, the efforts to prevent legal lynchings in Harlan County are still being maintained. The record in the trials now stands as follows: five sentenced for life, two acquitted, and one of the two freed men rearrested.

Court Protects Utility Chain

Another effort of state officials to bring the activities of the Cities Service gas setup under state control has reached an impasse as the result of a restraining order preventing Gov. Harry H. Woodring and Attorney-General Boynton from instituting receivership, ouster or charter forfeiture proceedings against 10 subsidiary distributing agencies of the Henry L. Doherty chain. Gov. Woodring had directed that receivership and dissolution proceedings be instituted because the companies holding charters in Kansas had violated the law by not maintaining general offices in the state, keeping books and records in the state, and keeping within the state books, records and accounts of the superintendent, general manager, auditor and treasurer of the companies, and by not keeping the revenue collected by the companies "until disbursed or divided by the directors or other officers authorized to make such division." A recent order of the public service commission that the Doherty distributing companies enter a book charge of 30 cents a thousand cubic feet for wholesale gas furnished by affiliated pipeline companies at city gates has been held up by court action instituted by the gas concerns. The rate now charged is 39.5 cents a thousand, which the commission deems excessive.

Dismissed by Patrioteers

Miss Beryl Aylward, a Quaker teacher in England, has been discharged because she refused to participate in a celebration of Empire Day.

Socialist Paper Wins

After a long refusal by the Post Office Department to grant second-class mailing rights to *America For All,* the official campaign weekly of the Socialist Party, with no reason offered for the governmental sabotage, pressure from many liberal and radical quarters at last brought about a relaxation of this form of left-handed censorship.

In Praise of War

In an article for the *Encyclopaedia Italiana,* Mussolini writes that "Fascism rejects pacifism, which implies renunciation of struggle and cravenness in the face of sacrifice. Only war carries all human energies to the height of tension and gives the seal of nobility to peoples that have the courage to confront it."

Competitive Shipping On the Rocks

Not less than 14 million gross tons of shipping were idle in early summer, according to a report from Washington, of which nearly one-fourth represented idle tonnage in the United States. The German Government is subsidizing the scrapping of 400,000 tons of merchant shipping, while the French Line is keeping its head above water only by virtue of a governmental loan. All the major Italian lines are being merged into four great services under government sponsorship.

What One Church Could Do

The Reverend B. C. Hopson, Vicar of Christ Church, Cockfosters, Barnet, England, after a meeting on "Christ and War" in his parish house recently, circulated a declaration to be signed by any person who desired to, above 18 years of age. The statement read: "We, being members and friends of the congregation of Christ Church, Cockfosters, convinced that war is contrary to the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, declare that we will not bear arms in the event of another war, or help in the preparation for it, and we respectfully urge all the Christian congregations of the world to make a similar declaration." Nearly 150 people signed promptly.

The Traffic in Death

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

A HYENA, says the Dictionary, is a large and strong, but cowardly, nocturnal carniverous mammal which feeds largely on carrion and often robs graves. The humans of this species are the international munitions makers. They too are large and strong, and so powerful that few governments have dared to oppose them. They are cowardly and work in the dark. And their daily bread is human life, mangled and poisoned and torn to shreds.

This revolting species is again at its gory job, making profits out of human death. A lurid light is thrown upon their activities in the Far East by the annual peace issue of the German journal *Vom Frohen Leben.** The Japanese, as everybody knows, have not only overrun Manchuria but have ambitious plans for annexing other Chinese and possibly Russian territories. Such international complications become excellent business opportunities to arms manufacturers.

From what we know of their past activities, the arms manufacturers in all countries would not neglect this opportunity. Nor did they. Anticipating "excellent business," the stocks of all armament makers and allied interests promptly made great advances. Hotchkiss stock rose from 1100 to 1268 (Hotchkiss manufactures machine guns); Gnome and Rhone from 300 to 360; Lorraine Company from 90 to 118; Schneider-Creusot from 1300 to 1350. Similar gains were made by airplane manufacturers, the Atlas Powder Company, the Java-China Navigation Company, Egyptian cotton, the Suez Canal Company, and various other concerns.

Shanghai at once became the center of the arms industry. Schneider-Creusot (France), Skoda (Czechoslovakia), and other leaders in the industry acquired a huge building in the International Settlement. From this center public opinion in Japan and China was bombarded and made ready for war. Three great journals, one in English, one in Japanese and one in Chinese, amply supplied by advertisements from the munitions makers, began to shriek for war. The English paper, the Shanghai *Post,* was cynical enough to remark that "a war would undoubtedly be very helpful to many branches of industry." Realizing the value of the press, the French *Comité des Forges* also bought a controlling interest in both the *Matin* and the *Temps* in Paris, thus insuring a "favorable press" at home as well.

Before long the orders began to roll in. Schneider-Creusot offered to the Japanese General Staff its latest machine and rapid fire guns free of charge, so that they might "try these out" and convince themselves of their deadliness. When the streets had been filled with dead Chinese by their use, heavy orders were placed for these guns. As a result Schneider-Creusot added 55,000 laborers to their pay rolls.

Orders were picked up by many great companies in the large countries for parts of machine-guns, tanks, shells, barbed wire, sand-bags, and poison gas. These shipments arrived in the Far East from France, Germany, Sweden, Holland, England, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Poland and the United States. In the English parliament the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Runciman, conceded that in a single month more than £30,000 of munitions left England destined for the Far East.

Typically, many of these shipments were disguised. In the factories the practice was followed of manufacturing only certain parts of arms, leaving the assembling for the Far East, no doubt to avoid labor agitation and sabotage. Poison gas, which was unloaded by men wearing gas masks, was marked as "exterminator for the protection of plants." Munitions were packed in huge crates which were neatly labelled "Pianos."

Hamburg soon became the shipping center for German, French and Czechoslovak armament manufacturers. The extent of the traffic may be gauged by the following facts: On February 2 one ship sailed for Yokohama loaded with explosives. On February 5 two ships departed for Japan loaded with grenades, dynamite, and airplane parts. On February 7 Skoda sent 1,700 cases of ammunition. On February 8 a Norwegian vessel called for 1,000 cases of explosives destined for the Far East; on the same day the French sent machine guns valued at 100 million francs. That is the record for one week.

Considerable consternation has been caused throughout Europe by the fact that Switzerland is developing as a center of the munitions industry. The origin of this astonishing business is to be found during the World War when the Swiss—with profitable neutrality—sold war materials both to the Allies and the Central Powers. The industry has practically always been concentrated in foreign hands, even to the extent of employing foreign labor. Since the War the manufacture and sale of arms in Switzerland has never wholly ceased, and the business has prospered from

* An informing pamphlet has just been issued by the Union of Democratic Control (34 Victoria St., London) called *The Secret International—Armament Firms at Work,* which includes the Far Eastern phase of this subject along with a more extensive survey of the various countries selling munitions internationally.

day when the clouds arose in the Far Eastern sky.

Many Swiss have been greatly disturbed over this affair, and the newspapers have published bitter attacks. Many even fear a deneutralization of Switzerland. The matter has gone so far that it was brought upon the Swiss *Bundesrat,* only to meet a cynical commercial point of view. The *Bundesrat's* reply to the protest was that "it is good for Swiss business to get a large order of arms and munitions from foreign ports."

In 1931 the Swiss arms industry sent munitions to Bolivia valued at 1,187,000 francs, which was the third large order of this kind filled in that year. On the heels of this good start the Swiss manufacturers managed to get an order for 2,000,000 francs from China. This became possible only after a Swiss colonel passed 473,000 francs in "honest graft" to the Chinese negotiators. Today Switzerland's best customers in munitions are Germany, China, Japan, Bolivia, Turkey, Abyssinia and Persia. How the gods of irony must laugh when they think of Switzerland, the seat of the League, the meeting place of disarmament conferences, the home of innumerable international activities, as a center of the international arms industry.

Various other phases of this "secret international" in the Far East deserve mention. The connection between the munition makers and the bankers is very close. By means of interlocking directorates the arms manufacturers also became powers in the financial world. Thus the great Vickers-Armstrong Company of England has influence in the Bank of Rumania, the Ottoman Bank, the Bank of England, the Anglo-International Bank, and more to the point just now, in Japanese banks also. In France a friend of M. Schneider (of Schneider-Creusot) is on the Board of the Franco-Japanese Bank. There is a similarly close relation to the important financial journals.*

Finally, a note about labor. It has been mentioned that Schneider-Creusot increased its labor personnel by 55,000 due to Japanese orders. Similar happenings occurred elsewhere. The Mauser factory in Oberdorf, for instance, added 600 workers. Thus far no labor trouble has been reported, and, with the inhuman distress caused by unemployment, this is understandable enough. But labor's record is even worse. In the Ruhr a German union leader is quoted as saying: "We would rejoice if war broke out in the Far East. Then our workers would again fill their pocketbooks." Thus even labor is caught up in the maelstrom and becomes the victim of this incomparably vicious traffic.

President Masaryk once declared that the disarmament of the world would be a very slow process, because the manufacture for international sale of munitions and war materials was a major industry in many countries. This touches a very sore spot. There are many people who refuse to believe that the arms industries have anything to do with war. Isn't it about time that they faced the facts? In every war these hyenas have preyed on the dead, frequently supplying both sides in the conflict with their deadly wares, and selling to the "enemy" even when their own country was involved.

In 1928 the League of Nations made a rather hesitating step toward checking the international commerce in arms. It suggested that each government should send information to the League about the sale of armaments to other countries. After much sidestepping and irrelevant debate, the British delegate declared that the plan was wholly impossible for the following reasons:

(1) The government did not have such information at its disposal.

(2) The armament manufacturers would refuse to furnish it.

(3) The government could not compel them to furnish it.

(4) Few governments would have the courage to introduce legislation to make them do so.

These are unquestionably the bare and bald facts. Of course, a vigorous peace policy by the League would not content itself with publishing statistics of the commerce in arms; it would try to *stop* the traffic. But perhaps we owe a debt to the League for at least making it plain that the arms industries everywhere fear the light. That they have reason to do so is once more made abundantly clear by their activities in the Far East.

Trumpets Before Jericho

DOOM shakes a trumpet blast at Jericho
While drunken laughter shrills within the walls;
Its towers rise in gay defiance though
From distant camps a brazen terror calls;
And they who jostle in the thoroughfares
Or, packed in herds, are carried underground
Await no siege, prepare for no defence;
They heed no warning note; they hear no sound.

A dazzling sun may shine on rows of graves;
A billion bulbs may glare on tombs at night;
An orchestra can play a dirge for slaves
In jazz-time measures trembling with delight;
But they who stand on watch as sentries know
Doom shakes a trumpet blast at Jericho.

ELIAS LIEBERMAN

* Vivid light is thrown on the cause of the virtual futility of recent disarmament conferences by the fact that Charles Dumont, president of the Franco-Japanese Bank and French Minister of Marine, was one of France's representatives, while Col. A. G. C. Dawnay, brother of a Vickers-Armstrong director, was a British member.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drast criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine wort*

Why Crisis—and Why Not

Breakdown. By Robert Briffault. Brentano's. 273 pp. $2.50.
The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass. By Everett Dean Martin. Holt & Co. 200 pp. $2.00.

THERE is something in Briffault's method which dazes the intellect of those who do not keep a firm grip on their powers of analysis. It would be hard to find a book which states so many significant truths only to convert them, with the least loss of time, into absurdities. Thus in the first chapter Briffault states the truth known to most intelligent persons but kept out of sight by those who wish to maintain the *status quo,* that what passes for social organization is not the product of intelligence serving the common good. Instead, however, of then going on to show the small part played in its formation by any kind of thought, he conserves the essence of the myth, namely, that deliberate purpose is the cause of social institutions, while he transfers the purpose to the wilful choice and machinations of a few who have imposed existing institutions upon humanity by force and then have fooled them into thinking that the arrangements were the product of reason and good-will, waiving custom and accident.

In the second chapter the author sets out with the true and pregnant assertion that the kind of intelligence to which we owe the discoveries of modern science is not the author of contemporary institutions; that on the contrary the structure of the latter antedates in origin the use of the scientific method. This truth is then converted not into the statement that special interests are served by perpetuating pre-scientific habits in state and church, but by assigning some miraculous causal power to forces that existed in the fifth century A.D. Later it is converted into the assertion that "the whole of modern influential and reputable literature, and of academic science" is in large measure merely a masked substitute for the authority of ancient tradition. Yet just before making this statement Mr. Briffault assured us that there *is* such a thing as the "modern mind, modern knowledge or intelligence," of which the structure of the social world is *not* the expression.

One could find similar inversions in almost every chapter. The mind is stimulated only to be confused. One more example: After asserting most definitely that the present system is the direct outcome of a tradition of injustice established in the remote past and re-consecrated in the early Christian centuries, Mr. Briffault asserts that "traditional civilizations are bound to decline in power and be destroyed for the reason that they are unjust." In consequence of such repeated contradictions, while *Breakdown* is to be recommended to those who require intellectual yeast, readers ought to be aware in advance that the resulting dough will stand a good deal of kneading on their own part.

By "the individual" Mr. Martin in his thoughtful book understands that which is distinctive, rare, uncommon, in the human being. *The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass* is an inqui as to what is happening to this unique quality under the conditio of modern life. Is it gaining or losing? The answer is upon t whole unfavorable. Mass movements, social organization, met ods of publicity, democratic politics, the economic system, seem be closing in upon individuality, making the achievement of genui maturity—a synonym of individuality—more and more difficul The general temper of the book is represented by Mr. Martin assertion that the tendency is "to substitute for the values civilization the preferences of those strata of society which ha only mediocre intelligence, and almost no cultural traditions."

Democracy is essentially the elevation of the "crowd" to powe democratic government tends inevitably to support the existin crowd in a sense of its own infallibility, and the crowd thus su ported demands conformity with its own ideas and aspiration Our economic stimulation brings about an over-stimulation ambition for material equality, and consequent resentment of t successful, of those who stand out. It creates a demand for me equality. These are the motives which Mr. Martin finds actua ing those in the working classes who have embraced socialism an radical economic movements.

Because of the development of naturalism, of anti-supernat uralism, "the cows are in the corn." That is, the mass of me who once were content with the promise of heaven beyond a demanding satisfaction here and now. The mass movement thu engendered imperils the finer values of the few. Industrially, th machine age accustoms men to think in terms of power rathe than of value. Because of the blind workings of power organize mechanically, the "individual becomes helpless in the grip of soci situations."

These are samples of Mr. Martin's conclusions, thoug not of his method; in their isolation they give his conclusions somewhat exaggerated air. It is somewhat unfortunate, I think that Mr. Martin so often gives the impression of comparing th present with the past and then finding that individuality sustains more precarious existence now than in the past, because the force which work against the maturing of maturity and for the preser vation of infantilism are stronger than they used to be. Th unique in human beings, as Mr. Martin conceives it, has alway had, I think, a hazardous life, and has been confined to a few The supposition that the present is worse in this respect than th past is not supported by evidence, and it is doubtful if any genera conclusion on a point of historical comparison is possible. Bu there *are* many dangers threatening individuality which are rela tively characteristic of the present, and which Mr. Martin ha set forth. I think that his account would have carried mor weight if he had made it clear that it was not comparison but th present that occupied him.

A more serious criticism from my own point of view is that Mr Martin trusts almost exclusively to a personalistic psychoanalyti

chology instead of to a social psychology which is concerned h the social causation of the personal defects he deals with. ere is next to no intimation for example of the part which a individuals play in generating the evils of democracy that are ributed to an inherent personal psychology; similarly with the gers to individuality found in our economic situation. His ole conception of social psychology stands self-revealed in the lowing quotation: "The student of social psychology . . . is erested rather in the possibility that *under any economic system* maximum number of people should be able to grow from in- tile tribal ways to self-directing maturity." This position I ould say is characteristic of the preacher's and abstract moralist's int of view rather than of that of the student of social ychology.

JOHN DEWEY

Medieval Technique

he Terror in Europe. By H. Hessell Tiltman. Stokes. $3.75.
hat is Fascism and Why? Edited by Tomaso Sillani. Macmillan Co. $5.00.

IN *The Terror in Europe* the writer of an authorized biography of J. Ramsay MacDonald presents a systematic collection of incidents relating to the post-War European dictatorships. Special attention is given to Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy, the "veiled dictatorship" of Poland, and the White Terror of Hungary. The conclusion is reached that "those who understand the real nature of Europe's dictatorships today—whether Red or White—will prefer to study them from afar rather than to copy them. For whether the victims are aristocrats, bourgeoisie or proletarians; Communists, Socialists or reactionaries, the methods by which they are deprived of their elementary rights are the methods of the Dark Ages transplanted into the present day."

In selecting materials bearing on Soviet Russia, considerable bias is shown. Chapters are headed by the outpourings of Vandervelde, Kautsky and others. Materials are picked so as to prejudice the reader. The actions of Moscow appear from the account to be an unbroken series of mistakes. The terror seems unbounded.

Fascism is even more hated than Bolshevism. "Not even in Soviet Russia has personal liberty suffered a more complete collapse than it has in Italy." Fascists are accused of being "allied with all the forces of reaction and violence menacing the peace of Europe." Specifically, pacts with Russia and alliances with Hitler are alleged.

The volume undoubtedly contains a considerable body of truth. Indeed, the most ardent supporter of one of the European dictatorships would not deny many of the excesses cited. The fact remains, however, that the writer has failed to make his case against dictatorship because he has been unwilling to hold rigidly to an unembellished statement of facts.

What is Fascism? is a bit of special pleading for the Italian regime. It consists of statements of governmental officials concerning various phases of Italian life. The Minister of Justice, the Minister of Finance, the Councillor of State, the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Commerce, the Minister of Colonies, and other officials praise the present order. No indication of the depression or of any deficiencies in the present government finds expression in these pages. One would be led to believe that Italy is a peace-loving nation abounding in prosperity. How far this is from the truth requires no comment.

COLSTON E. WARNE

Creative Gossip

More Merry-Go-Round. By the authors of *Washington Merry-Go Round.* Liveright, Inc. $3.00.

THIS is a blithe, gossipy, impertinent, devastating book—a joyous piece of irreverent tale-telling. Joyous, because it cuts the pretensions off the big-wigs of Republican and Democratic politics with the cool impartiality of a Lord High Executioner. Not that its authors are cowardly debunkers, sniping from the safe blinds of anonymity; but because at bottom they detest hypocrisy, admire the honest, capable few at the capital city, and believe that a little truth-telling, even at the expense of overstuffed reputations, will be in the long run a salutary thing. Already, just as Bob Allen was dismissed for a share in the initial volume, Drew Pearson, that ace of Washington correspondents, has been fired by so pretentiously liberal a paper as the Baltimore *Sun.*

To those who are accustomed to speak softly about our representatives in politics, to those whose eyes are held by the magic of gold lace and brass pomp, the book is certain to be shocking. Sample the style: "To the eye, Charles Evans Hughes might be any one of the Twelve Disciples——. He has a lordly and righteous mien, a beard, and a sonorous voice. But his feet are of clay—a very common variety of clay." But don't imagine that these hounds are baying into empty bushes. They tell exactly why. They relate plenty of good points about good boys and girls, and even about bad ones. But they see all, know all, tell all, with a vengeance. Almost the net impression they leave is one of regret that the bonus army, even if as filled with congenital bums as its official foes have said it was, did not push out the present incumbents of 90 percent of our public offices on the banks of the Potomac, and ease themselves into the vacant chairs. We should have had a bit more of humanity at the center of government, but of course incompetence, venality, demagogy, misrule. Yet these we have in abundance now. And if you don't believe it, take the writings of Calvin Coolidge, a file of the *Saturday Evening Post,* and *More Merry-Go-Round* with you to a barren isle and read them all with care. You will emerge mentally and physically well trained for the kind of life you face if the old parties continue indefinitely to provide us with our quadrennial Great White Fathers.

D. A.

WE RECOMMEND

A Short Introduction to the History of Human Stupidity. By Walter B. Pitkin. Simon and Shuster. $5.00. Professor Pitkin has written some 500 pages to reveal the stupidities of *homo sapiens* in all ages of history. The volume is delightful reading but would be more valuable if it were a little briefer and if the Professor had not added some stupidities of his own, such as his assumption that the social problem can be solved by eugenics alone.

Portrait of an Independent: Life and Letters of Moorfield Storey, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Houghton Mifflin Co. $3.50. Here is a chance to look into the heart and mind of an outstanding champion of American liberalism. The author allows his subject to make his own impression upon the reader, the largest part of the book being devoted to letters which are most revealing of Mr. Storey and his time. Mr. Storey's life is an exemplification of the weakness of liberalism as well as of its charm and strength.

John Jacob Astor. By Kenneth W. Porter. Harvard University Press. 2 volumes. $10.00. An authoritative and exhaustive biography of "the first business man in America to attain colossal wealth," supported by countless documents. As romantic as Horatio Alger's novels.

Seeing Ourselves Through Russia. Edited by Henry T. Hodgkin. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc. $1.25. An effort to shed light upon economic and social problems in America by examining the experiences of Soviet Russia. The outgrowth of group study at Pendle Hill School, and designed for group discussion.

Economics: Principles and Problems. By Lionel D. Edie. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. $5.00. This is a revised and reset edition of a popular college text-book which first appeared in 1926, and which represents the liberal school of economists. Not to be read at a single sitting, but a good reference volume.

The Making of Roumania—A Study of an International Problem. By T. W. Riker. Oxford Press. 592 pages. $7.50. A detailed and scholarly account of the origins of Roumanian independence from 1856 to 1866. It shows among other matters how the European powers became entangled in Balkan affairs and how the Balkans became the "powder-barrel" of Europe.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Bloody International

THE Press reports that Arthur Henderson has become fearful of resumption of full and open arms competition between nations. He pleads with the great Powers to fulfil the obligation to disarm laid upon them by the Versailles Treaty. Failure to do this and disarm to the German level has caused the German threat to re-arm, and is the incidental cause of Mr. Henderson's alarm.

Millions of signatures to the Geneva Conference, of which Mr. Henderson is President, attest the desire of taxpayers for disarmament. What prevents governments from relieving them of the burden of a $5,000,000,000 annual world cost of armaments?

Dispatches from Geneva tell us that England sold $15,000,000 worth of arms to Bolivia; the United States sold $5,000,000 worth, the money to pay for them being loaned from the United States with the approval of the State Department. (Thousands of Bolivians and Paraguayans are being killed with these arms in the Chaco jungles.) Between November and April last, British licenses permitted shipments of 10,000,000 cartridges, and many machine guns to the Orient. American arms shipments to Asia during the past year and half were valued at $118,000,000. In Paris, *Le Temps* and *Journal des Debats* declare the French munitions trusts have cleaned up handsomely by arming Asia, and that they have sold 125,000 rifles to Hungary. According to official documents on the World War, French firms sold trainloads of bisulphide to Germany for manufacture of phosgene gas to kill Allied soldiers, because Germany paid ten times as much as could be gotten from the Allies. German firms sold barbed wire to France, and English gunmakers sold guns to the Turks to kill English soldiers.

There can be little doubt that it is the munitions racket that thwarts the will of taxpayers. Munitions profits, paid for in human blood and sweat, are 200 and 300 percent. Henry W. Nevinson, courageous correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* told in his paper the story of lucrative rewards offered him if he would color the Geneva Conference reports to suit the munitions interests. And William B. Shearer, who represented the Newport News, Brown-Boveri, and other shipbuilders at the 1927 Geneva Naval Conference, was at Geneva again last June. Whom did he represent this time?

It would seem from the above that the fight for disarmament by sincere peace-desiring people should be carried on tooth and nail against the munitions interests. Let us learn the truth, and then intelligently direct our efforts against these bloodhounds who stir up fears and enmities for the sake of selling munitions under the specious pretext of "adequate national defense."

New York, N. Y. ANNIE E. GRAY

ANNOUNCEMENTS

F. O. R. Annual Conference

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation will hold its annual conference this year at Alumnae House, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., October 21-23. The theme of the conference is to be "Pacifism and Group Coercion." The schedule of the conference follows:

Friday, October 21, 4 P. M.
"The Issues Before This Conference"—Address: Reinhold Niebuhr.

Friday, October 21, 8 P. M.
"Pacifism and Economic Sanctions"—Chairman, Reinhold Niebuhr; Round Table Speakers: Evans Clark, Richard Gregg, George Soule; Discussion.

Saturday, October 22, 9-9:20 A.M.—Worship, led by Reinhold Niebuhr.

Saturday, October 22, 9:30 A.M.
"The Pacifism of the F.O.R. in Action"—Chairman, Reinhold Niebuhr; "In Industry"—Charles Webber; "In Race Relations"—Howard Kester; "Against the War Threat in Europe and the Far East"—Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze (invited), J. N. Sayre; Discussion.

Saturday, October 22, 3:00 P.M.
"The Pacifism of the F.O.R. in Action" (con.): "In Latin America"—Charles Thomson; "General Work in the United States"—J. B. Matthews and J. N. Sayre.
Election of Fellowship Council.

Saturday, October 22, 8:00 P. M.
"Should Pacifists Mainly Employ Methods of Pressure or Persuasion?"—Chairman, Roger Baldwin; Round Table Speakers: Prof. Hornell Hart, Dr. Harry Laidler, Dr. F. Siegmund-Schultze (invited); Discussion.

Sunday, October 23, 9:30 A. M.—Worship, led by Prof. Adelaide Case.

Sunday, October 23, 2:30 P. M.
"The Main Job Which the Fellowship Faces"—Chairman Prof. Adelaide Case; Address: Kirby Page; Discussion.

OPPOSED TO MILITARY DRILL in schools? Do you know conscientious students desiring exemption? For suggestions and literature write George A. Coe, Chairman, or Tucker P. Smith, Secretary,

Committee on Militarism in Education
Bible House **New York City**

Timely Books on Vital Topics

Psychiatry and Mental Health
by
John Rathbone Oliver, M.D., Ph.D.
author of "Foursquare," "Fear," etc.

330 pages
$2.75

"Spiritual advisers and guides possessed of the special knowledge conveyed in the book may be of real help, especially by way of prevention, to many unhappy sufferers. The presentation is original, fresh, and interesting."

—*Dr. William H. Welch.*

Character in Human Relations
by
Hugh Hartshorne

382 pages
$2.50

Sets forth a point of view regarding the nature of character, appraises the means by which educators have tried to cultivate it, and embodies results of recent research in the field of human personality.

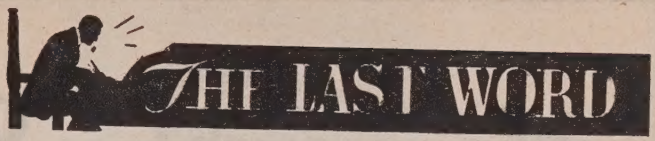
Educating for Citizenship
The Sovereign State as Ruler and as Teacher
by
George A. Coe
author of "The Motives of Men," etc.

203 pages
$2.00

A brilliant and stirring analysis of the role of American schools in producing citizens—or in not producing them. It has the very greatest importance for every person interested in good government and the good life—as well as for every one concerned, directly or indirectly, in education.

at your bookstore

Charles Scribner's Sons, New York



EVERYONE gets letters. Even Eccentricus, who takes this occasion to thank the friends who urged him to return and those who have welcomed his reappearance backstage. But most of the letters that come to me, as ought to be obvious, are extremely sensible and filled with flattery. Yet everyone, as I do, receives his annual quota from people whose candidacy for the asylum on the ticket of the Goofy Party would win instant popular acclaim. I have had everything from proposals of marriage (which Normala thought was going pretty far) to requests for a contribution of ten dollars (ah, my friends, *there's* flattery!) toward the building of a peace bridge across Pennsylvania Avenue. These communications are not thrown away; they are carefully filed in a folder labelled "Hour, The Playtime".

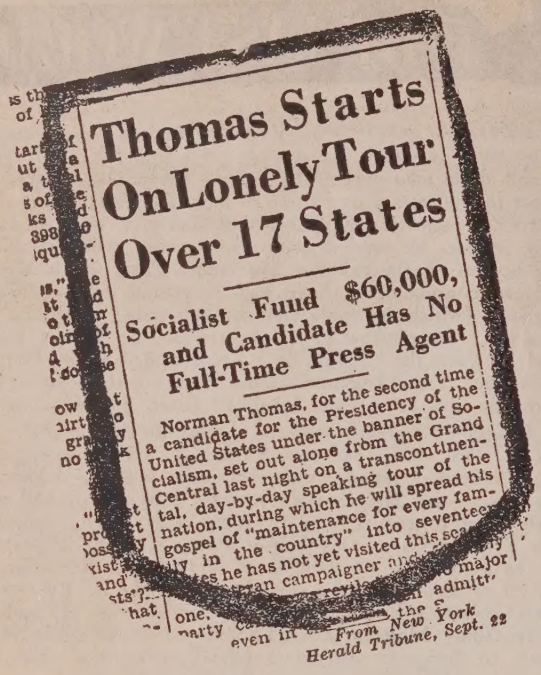
The League of Nations, however, doesn't do exactly that. Sitting in an office of the Secretariat one day and conversing with a League official, I noted (with that quiet keenness which lets nothing escape—my friends always said I'd be a good jail warden) that the procedure was to stamp every letter from the Lunatic Fringe with a large rubber stamp reading EPHEMERAL. Not to be outdone by the League of Nations, for Eccentricus is no piker, I recently ordered a stamp precisely like it. Just as the League, I trust, will use it on the pleas sure to be made by Japan regarding Manchuria, so I intend to use my own stamp ruthlessly to designate everything trivial, make-shift, trite, and of doubtful worth.

SHAMELESS in the matter of retailing borrowed stories Eccentricus has always been. And so there's the one about a Communist orator—let us admit he was not one of the elect—at a downtown street intersection. He was enlightening an ample crowd. "In d' p-resent society," he declaimed, "d' r-rich man he eat caviar and d' poor-r man he eat beans. But in d' *communist* society, d' r-rich man he eat beans and d' poor-r man he eat caviar." At this point a note of dissension was interjected by a small, shabby man on the margin of the audience, who cried, "But I don't like caviar!" Nothing daunted, as they say in the serious magazines, the holder-forth roared back: "In d' *communist* society, you'll eat caviar and *like* it, too!"

Then, too, there's the (still) older one about the Communist speaker whose first-rate zeal was exceeded in sharpness only by his Second Avenue accent. This particular orator was one of those fellows who see stones in sermons, boobs in the running brooks, and guile in everything. "Lookit Lindboigh," he looked; "goin' everywhere in an aryoplane. Lookit Post and Gatty, flyin' around d' woild. Lookit Earhart, hoppin' ower d' Atlantic to Ireland. Lookit Mollison, comin' across t' N'Yoik. But why? *Why* does Lindboigh fly all ower? *Why* did Post and Gatty go around d' woild? *Why* did Earhart go t' Ireland and *why* did Mollison fly over here? I'll tell yer why: *t' diwert d' minds of d' masses from d' crissis!*"

THAT'S not all. There's also the one about. . . . But excuse me, here comes a boy. Yes, Son? My rubber stamp? Fine. Why, yes, I suppose I ought to see how it looks. But wait—not there! Not there! Look *out!* See what you've done—right on my column for this week! *Now* what will people say? No, don't tell me; don't *tell* me!

Eccentricus



Thomas Starts On Lonely Tour Over 17 States

Socialist Fund $60,000, and Candidate Has No Full-Time Press Agent

Norman Thomas, for the second time a candidate for the Presidency of the United States under the banner of Socialism, set out alone from the Grand Central last night on a transcontinental, day-by-day speaking tour of the nation, during which he will spread his gospel of "maintenance for every family in the country" into seventeen states he has not yet visited this season. [illegible] campaigner [illegible] major [illegible] admitted.

From the New York Herald Tribune, Sept. 22

OUR CAMPAIGN IS ON!

NORMAN THOMAS left the Grand Central Station last Thursday. He goes to Michigan, to Wisconsin, to Minnesota, to California—then back through the South until a week before election, when he winds up the most intensive campaign of our times.

What makes the campaign go? Behind Thomas are there campaign chests, expensive boards of strategy? No! There *need* not be. This campaign requires no regal trappings; on our side we require no financiers. But your help we *do* need! Desperately. How can you help, you say?

1. Join the THOMAS AND MAURER COMMITTEE, which now numbers 10,000. By election day we aim to have its membership reach 100,000. Send your name and others.

2. We must buy radio time—$5,000 for fifteen minutes over national network! Norman Thomas can talk to 100,000,000 people at one time. We must print literature to distribute without stint.

3. Write for the comparison of platforms entitled "Dont Throw Away This Vote!" We'll send as many as you want.

To sum up: Join the Thomas and Maurer Committee!
Help us buy Radio Time!
Read literature, spread literature, keep in touch with us!

Let us know what you can do and how we can help locally. Get into the campaign! Vote for *Thomas and Maurer! Join us!!*

Send contributions to

THOMAS and MAURER

Committee of One Hundred Thousand

112 EAST 19th STREET - - NEW YORK CITY